

AN IMAGE AND ITS FUNCTION IN THE LITURGY: THE MAN OF SORROWS IN BYZANTIUM*

HANS BELTING

I must apologize for delivering a kind of funeral sermon on a sad subject, the funerals of Christ or rather the image of Christ to be used in these funerals. Yet, since the liturgy centered around the death of Christ and its reenactment, it may not be too farfetched to choose this subject for an occasion when liturgy and art are the two activities to be brought together and analyzed in terms of their mutual exchange.¹ I should like to say, before even entering my subject, that there is no longer any need to argue for the existence of a link between art and liturgy. Nowadays everyone is aware of the use of art made by the Church, and, as a result, of its use in the liturgy.² Consequently, I do not at all regard it my task to prove this connection, but, instead, I should like to inquire in what way liturgy affected art. The question, then, is not whether a work of art can be understood with the help of liturgy, but whether it must be so understood; whether it must be explained, in terms of both content and form, by its liturgical function.

As an art historian my aim, to put it simply, is to explain images, i.e., the reason for their existence as well as their appearance. Why were images invented at all and why do they look as they look? These two questions may sound simple but in fact they are not. I do not write here of the work of art as a document of style (at least, this is not my primary concern); I take the individual work much more seriously, as something that cannot be exchanged even with works sharing its style or created by the same painter but that is to be understood as a statement containing a definite message in a language appropriate to convey this message to the beholder. It would not exist if this were not the case.

To enter such an inquiry is to enter the history of art itself. The history of art is the history of images. These are not self-explanatory. They served specific functions assigned to them by people and were meant to serve other people. As far as my topic is concerned, it is in the liturgy that we discover that certain images were used, and consequently it is the liturgy which we must consult to determine whether

* This paper was given at the Symposium on Byzantine Liturgy held at the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Washington, D.C., on 10–12 May 1979.

¹ A fuller version of this text, with extensive documentation, is included as a separate chapter in my publication, *Formen und Funktionen des frühen Tafelbildes* (Berlin, 1981). This book will be part of my project on the history of the icon in the West. I am grateful to Professor G. Constable and the Senior Fellows of Dumbarton Oaks for offering me hospitality and support for this project.

² Cf., e.g., O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London, 1948); K. Weitzmann, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the 11th Century," *Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 1966. Papers* (Oxford, 1967), no. VII; H.-J. Schulz, *Die byzantinische Liturgie* (Freiburg, 1964).

this use of the images modified them or even caused them to be created in the first place. Thus, the history of art leads to the history of liturgy. I wish to stress the word "history" because, as in art, we should beware of misinterpreting liturgy as a timeless manifestation of divine laws which are taken for granted and do not require historical research—research which, by nature, always deals with change in time and change in people. If this is accepted, the history of liturgy will in turn lead us to something else, to the history of people; in our specific case, to the history of Byzantine society mainly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which emerge as a period of a new creative phase of image making. Images of this time reflect a new attitude toward religious experience on the part of the Byzantine individual or, more generally, a new self-awareness of the human being, expressed in religious terms.

I hope to show that the Man of Sorrows is the perfect example of a liturgical use as well as of a given phase in Byzantine icon painting. Before entering into our argument I wish to devote a few introductory remarks to the general problem of how images can be defined in terms of liturgy and also to what extent they reflect liturgical use. In some cases, like those examined by Professor Cutler in this Symposium, it is the choice of a given subject or its "location" in a given context that are ruled by liturgical reasons and in turn determine the liturgical meaning of a given work of art.³ In these cases one needs additional information in order to detect the liturgical conditioning of art which also was the conditioning of its message.

We must, however, distinguish works with a mere liturgical connotation or use from others whose very "language" is liturgical or whose very appearance is the result of liturgical experience. Two examples will illustrate the latter category of liturgical art. The first example, the Communion of the Apostles, substitutes the scene of the Last Supper with that of the liturgical communion: in other words, a biblical event is replaced by a church rite.⁴ The overlaying of past and present, or of a terrestrial and a heavenly reality, is a basic pattern of liturgical language which, by identifying what it is linking, produces a reality which exists beyond the limits of time and space. It is only in this sense that the Communion of the Apostles may be called liturgical art—not because it actually represents a moment in the liturgy.

My second example rephrases a biblical event in terms of liturgical language. The so-called *Threnos*, the lamentation of the Virgin over the body of the dead Christ (fig. 1), purports to be a biblical occurrence but, in fact, is the product of hymnographical and homiletic rhetoric, which invented the details of the kissing and embracing and even introduced the scene as such into the religious experience of the Middle Ages.⁵ H. Maguire has emphasized the influence of a ninth-century

³ A. Cutler, "Liturgical Strata in the Marginal Psalters," given on the same occasion as the present paper. See *infra*, pp. 17–30.

⁴ W. C. Loerke, "The Monumental Miniature," *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1975), 78ff.

⁵ K. Weitzmann, "The Origin of the Threnos," *De artibus opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. M. Meiss (New York, 1961), 476ff.; H. Maguire, "The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art," *DOP*, 31 (1977), 125ff., esp. 161ff.

homily of George of Nicomedia whose poetical imagery is reflected in the visual poem of the painted narrative, and R. Cormack found that the same homily exerted its influence on the emotional transformation of a Crucifixion scene.⁶ But I should like to go two steps further. This homily again served as the lesson on Good Friday, at least from the eleventh century onward, in small monastic circles, which may also have commissioned the painted *Threnos*.⁷ The latter, in addition, reflects a liturgical change (not simply a new mood of sentimental reenactment of the Mysteries). This it does by matching a newly introduced *Threnos* office which offered the religious experience that also became the function of the image.⁸ Contrary to the Communion of the Apostles, the *Threnos* was then a recent invention of Byzantine art. It was to become one of the favorite subjects and perfect realizations of a new language of Church art in the twelfth century. Not only did it use a language borrowed from that of liturgy; it owed its very existence to a new way of staging the mysteries which the liturgy developed, beginning with the eleventh century. It is here that we have a glimpse of the spirit of the time, not only of that of the liturgy.

Still we have not reached the end of the road which Byzantine art followed in the service of the liturgy. A third category of art works, in addition to its use of liturgical language and experience, drew its very content from the liturgy; these works, in other words, are the visual equivalent and even the product of liturgical function, be it prayers or rite. They make no sense when studied on the basis of the biblical text alone, since they replaced the biblical reality with the liturgical one. I shall illustrate this third category of liturgical art with just two examples, which will also be the subject of this paper as a whole.

My first example is an image of Christ *Amnos*, the sacrificed lamb (better known by its later name *Epitaphios*) (fig. 18). The liturgical use of this image is beyond doubt since it decorates the veil or *Aër* which covered the Holy Gifts, the bread called *Amnos* and the wine.⁹ Christ appears in the burial position, as he does in the *Threnos* scene, but the resemblance is superficial. The scene of the Lament, however much it borrows its language from recent liturgy, purports to reproduce a biblical event. The *Amnos* figure on the liturgical veil, on the other hand, cannot be confounded with a simple historical description. Not only is it isolated from any narrative context, except for the lamenting angels, but it refers to the Eucharist in that, like the holy bread on the paten, it is covered by a liturgical veil. Two realities are superimposed, that of the sign and that of the signified. Eucharistic symbolism is combined with Passion realism. The experience of liturgical rite and thought is essential to the understanding of an image which is the visual expression of its liturgical function. I shall return to this image below.

The second image which I shall discuss here also represents the dead Christ, but in this case as a portrait bust (fig. 3). It is a panel image, usually known as the Man

⁶ Maguire, *op. cit.*, 161 ff.; and R. Cormack, "Painting after Iconoclasm," *Iconoclasm*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1975), 151 ff. The homily was edited in PG, 101, col. 1457 ff. (see esp. cols. 1488 and 1489).

⁷ See note 16 *infra*.

⁸ See note 17 *infra*.

⁹ G. Millet, "L'Epitaphios," *CRAI* (1942), 408 ff.; *idem*, *Broderies religieuses du style byzantin* (Paris, 1947), 72 ff. and 86 ff.; P. Johnstone, *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery* (London, 1967), *passim*; and R. F. Taft, *The Great Entrance*, OCA, 200 (Rome, 1975), 216 ff.

of Sorrows and less commonly called by its Greek name *Akra Tapeinosis* ("utmost humiliation," Isaiah 53: 8).¹⁰ It may be compared with icons of the Crucifixion and of the Pantocrator. With the former it shares the nakedness and the inclination of the head, with the latter the scheme of a portrait bust; yet it differs from both of them. It is far from being a simple likeness or portrait, and it is still far from being anything like a scene. The dead figure seems to allude to a biographical moment, but does not make clear which specific moment it is alluding to. Since the figure, though represented dead, is shown upright but not nailed on the Cross, it cannot be connected with any known event in the Passion narrative.

The twelfth-century icon from Kastoria, which seems to be the earliest surviving panel image of this subject (fig. 3), is bilateral. Its other side, which also requires comment (fig. 2),¹¹ represents the Virgin *Hodegetria*. Strangely, the young Mother, who should appear serene with her Child, is shown with an expression of such grief that she might well be called a Mother of Sorrow, although the reasons for her sorrow are not immediately apparent. To understand this seeming paradox we must first connect her with her dead Son on the front of the panel, and second with the texts of Passion liturgy in which, when the Passion begins, the Virgin remembers the childhood of her Son. The contrast between birth and death, joy and grief, recurs consistently in the rhetoric of liturgical lament.¹² What is true of the Virgin is also true of the Man of Sorrows: if the one requires liturgical explanation, so does the other.

The *Amnos Aër* and the Man of Sorrows are both self-contained images of Christ of the Passion. Clearly, the cloth image (fig. 18) was used in the liturgy (but how and when?); possibly, the panel image (fig. 3) was similarly used because of its probable liturgical meaning. However, not only are there two different images, but also two different liturgies with which they can be connected. One is the Divine Liturgy whose Eucharist rites are rooted in Passion symbolism; the other is the Passion service, extending from Maundy Thursday through Holy Saturday, whose references to the Eucharist are manifold. Choosing between the two caused, as was to be expected, confusion and even a controversy among scholars. With two images requiring liturgical comment, and two liturgies which may have provided the function of the images, the stage is set and now I am ready.

¹⁰ Selected bibliography: G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile...* (Paris, 1916), 483 ff.; D. I. Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz. Der Ritus—das Bild*, *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia*, 2 (Munich, 1965) (hereafter Pallas, *Passion*), *passim*; S. Dufrenne, "Images du décor de la Prothèse," *REB*, 26 (1968), 297 ff.; T. Dobrzeński, "Niektóre zagadnienia ikonografii Meża Boleści," *Rocznik Muz. Narodowego w Warszawie*, 15 (1971), 7–94; R. Hamann-MacLean, *Grundlegung zu einer Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien*, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien*, 4 (Giessen, 1976), 62 ff. For the general bibliography on the Man of Sorrows, especially its history in the West, cf. E. Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis," *Festschrift für M. J. Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstag* (Leipzig, 1927), 261 ff.; S. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative. The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in 15th-Century Devotional Painting* (Åbo, 1965), esp. 25 f., 66 ff., 107 ff.; E. M. Vetter, *Die Kupferstiche zur Psalmodia eucaristica des Melchior Prieto von 1622* (Münster, 1972), esp. 172–242; C. Bertelli (see note 24 *infra*); H. W. van Os, "The Discovery of an Early Man of Sorrows on a Dominican Triptych," *JWarb*, 41 (1975), 65 ff.

¹¹ M. Chatzidakis, "L'évolution de l'icone aux 11^e–13^e siècles et la transformation du templon," *XV^e Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines. Rapports III*, 1 (Athens, 1976), 159 ff., esp. 184 f., figs. 20 and 21. I am grateful to Professor Chatzidakis for sending photographs to me.

¹² Cf. the homily of George of Nicomedia (note 6 *supra*) or the best known kontakion of Romanos Melodos which was used in the Passion liturgy: P. Maas and C. A. Trypanis, *Romanos Melodos. Cantica* (Oxford, 1963), 142 ff.

In order to reach a conclusion within the limits of this paper, I propose the following *modus procedendi*. I shall not spend time by quoting other scholars' opinions and presenting problems; rather, I shall offer a smooth story (at least, this is how I see it). It has a certain plausibility although it is not based, in every detail, on conclusive proof. I frequently depend on the excellent observations made by D. Pallas in his work *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz*, but I do not always accept his conclusions.¹³ My approach concerns function rather than theology and is meant to stimulate historical rather than merely iconographical reasoning.

To begin with, I must outline, as briefly as possible, the development of Passion liturgy as it relates to my argument.¹⁴ In so doing I should like to remind the reader of the difference between the liturgy of the Great Church and that of the monasteries in the capital, the former remaining static until the thirteenth century, the latter developing, from the eleventh century on, a rich *corpus* of new texts, rites, and even entire services. Let us consider, for example, the eleventh-century typikon of the monastery of the Virgin Euergetis.¹⁵ It introduces the celebration of Good Friday with a nocturnal "service of the Holy Passion" which includes the reading of George of Nicomedia's homily mentioned above and Romanos Melodos' kontakion "Come and let us praise Him who has been crucified for us."¹⁶ It concludes the celebration of the same day with another new service, called Πρεσβεία or Ἀκολουθία παρακλητική, which includes a lament or *Kanon Threnodes* of the Virgin, possibly Symeon Metaphrastes' hymn Θέλων σου τὸ πλάσμα, and also the famous burial song "The noble Joseph."¹⁷ Thus we find two new services, rich in mystagogical elements and full of psychological realism, the one contemplating Christ on the cross, the other the deposition, the lament, and the burial. The burial elements reappear in a third service, the morning service on Holy Saturday, which, in the case of our typikon, already includes a solemn entrance with the burial song just mentioned and the Trisagion, but has not yet reached its final shape, namely, that of an *Epitaphios Threnos*. In the Great Church the Saturday Orthros seems not to have acquired importance before the thirteenth century, as we learn from a homily of the Patriarch Germanos II (1222–40), delivered on that day, and from letters of the Patriarch Athanasios I (ca. 1305?) inviting the people "to venerate and proclaim loudly the all-holy sacrifice and the life-giving entombment" of Christ and to "hold a procession in contrition with the holy icons."¹⁸ It is the monasteries, then, many of them private foundations and places for the private piety of the nobles, that developed a rich pattern of new rites and, we may conclude, that commissioned icons to serve these new rites.

¹³ See note 10 *supra*.

¹⁴ The following follows the basic results of Pallas, *Passion*, *passim*. See also Schulz, *Liturgie* (note 2 *supra*); J. B. Thibaut, *Ordre des Offices de la Semaine Sainte à Jérusalem du IV^e au X^e siècle* (Paris, 1926); A. Schmemman, *Great Lent* (New York, 1969); A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskikh rukopisej*, I–III (Kiev-St. Petersburg 1895–1917), for the typika with the liturgical regulations; and M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge, 1974), for the *Stavrotheotokia* or hymns of the Virgin under the cross.

¹⁵ Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, I, 550ff., and Pallas, *Passion*, 32ff.

¹⁶ For the kontakion, see note 12 *supra*, and for the homily, see note 6 *supra*.

¹⁷ Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, I, 553f., and Pallas, *Passion*, 32.

¹⁸ A.-M. Maffry Talbot (ed.), *The Correspondence of Athanasios I, Patriarch of Constantinople*, DOT, III (Washington, D.C., 1975), 116f. and 178f. (no. 52 and no. 71); and Pallas, *Passion*, 38, 230 (I do not agree with Pallas' identification of two icons). For the homily of Germanos II, cf. PG, 98, col. 244.

In short, I should like to say that, to match the extension of the Passion rituals, more was needed than a cross or an icon of the Crucifixion—which, as Pallas has proven, originally served as feast images for these Passion services.¹⁹ What was needed was either several icons—e.g., the Deposition, the Lamentation, or the Burial—or a single one, complex and functional enough to qualify for all these services at once. As the reader will easily guess, it is the icon of the Man of Sorrows that has precisely this latter qualification. The cross behind him is an added and, in narrative terms, unrelated feature, as would equally be the addition of the tomb. Our hero, to describe the image in the liturgical language of the time, sleeps the life-giving sleep. This is the death of his human nature by which the divine nature becomes free to descend to the world below.²⁰ The expression of Sleep is thus functional and qualifies the icon for most of the Passion rituals. But there is more. In terms of a narrative story, the Virgin's lamentations are often as undefined as is the Man of Sorrows; they relate the Virgin to Christ, presenting them as the two protagonists of the drama. In an analogous fashion, the companion images are, so to speak, left alone with each other. Their combination as a double image (figs. 2 and 3) is the visual counterpart of the *Staurotheotokia* hymns.²¹

If the relationship of the two images to one another was indeed as important as it seems to be, then it gives us better insight into the reason for the choice of a portrait bust which brings the Christ figure, in visual terms, to the same level as the Virgin figure and defines the two as a pair.²² A further consequence of the creation of this iconic type, which is isolated from any narrative context, is a transformation of the expression the image is conveying: the Christ figure lends itself to a contemplation which is no longer directed to a specific biblical scene but to the new reality as it exists in the liturgy.

The creation of the funeral portrait may have benefited also from other experiences. There was what was believed to be the authentic relic of the Holy Shroud, preserved in the chapel of the Palace before it ended up in Turin.²³ The existence of the true likeness of the buried Christ justified the creation of our icon; with time, the icon came to reflect a shift of emphasis to the burial proper, which explains the burial position of the crossed hands and is in accordance with the extension of the ritual. The mosaic icon in S. Croce in Rome, testifying to this evolution (fig. 17),

¹⁹ Pallas, *Passion*, 76ff. and 87ff.

²⁰ Cf. the *Threnodes Kanon* of the Theotokos, used in the Passion rites of the *Euergetis* monastery (notes 15 and 17 *supra*): it is, in all likelihood, a *kanon* of Symeon Metaphrastes (Θέλων σου τὸ πλάσμα), edited in *Roma e l'Oriente*, 5 (1913), 302ff. (cf. Pallas, *Passion*, 33f.). Cf. also a homily on the *Threnos* of the *Theotokos*, traditionally attributed to Symeon Metaphrastes (PG, 114, cols. 212f. and 217), and the homily of Germanos II (note 18 *supra*, col. 644f.).

²¹ Cf. note 14 *supra*.

²² The best analysis of the semantic and psychological qualities of the portrait bust is to be found in Ringbom, *Icon* (note 10 *supra*), *passim*.

²³ P. Vignon, *Le Saint Suaire de Turin* . . . , 2nd ed. (Paris, 1939), *passim*; and most recently J. Wilson, *The Turin Shroud* (London, 1978). The Holy *Syndone* in the Palace Chapel is testified by Nikolaos Mesarites (A. Heisenberg, *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos* [Würzburg, 1907], 30), its public presentation by Robert de Clari in the Church of the Blachernai on the eve of the sack of Constantinople by *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Ph. Lauer (Paris, 1924), 90.

was a private icon of *ca.* 1300 which found its way to Rome where it was claimed to be a Late Antique original, the archetype of the *Imago Pietatis*.²⁴

The existence of a funeral icon was not as strange as it may seem. In St. Demetrios in Salonika there must have been an icon of the titular Saint which, according to the sources, was exposed in his so-called tomb, on a "bed."²⁵ A Byzantine reliquary, which left Constantinople in 1204 and shortly thereafter was welcomed at Halberstadt in Saxony, gives us an idea of what this Saint's funeral icon must have looked like (fig. 6).²⁶ The way the arms are crossed on the breast is echoed in the icon of another variant of our Man of Sorrows today preserved in Moscow.²⁷

If, then, our icon is connected with a number of related images, its true meaning, in my opinion, is the visual expression of its ritual function. Its use on Good Friday is proven beyond doubt by a Greek Gospel manuscript from Karahissar, now in Leningrad, datable to the eighties of the twelfth century; in this Gospel Book the two scenes of the Crucifixion are substituted with reproductions of our icon (figs. 7 and 8) placed beside two texts read on that day. This is clear evidence not only of the diffusion of our icon in the late twelfth century, but also of its being understood as an equivalent of a Crucifixion icon, whose liturgical function it adopted.²⁸ The awkward addition of the tomb represented as a domed building in the right margin of one of the illustrations (fig. 8) reflects an experimental stage in which the attempt to emphasize the burial was not altogether successful.

I should like to give further proof of the liturgical use of the Man of Sorrows icon. It was sometimes called a Deposition, which makes sense if the name indicates that the figure, in its function, was meant to be the equivalent of an icon depicting the Deposition.²⁹ And, indeed, a Cypriot panel shows St. Paraskevi (who developed her strange individuality from a personification of Good Friday) holding in her hands³⁰ an image of the Man of Sorrows, namely, the feast icon for that day.

A diptych in the Meteora monasteries in Greece showing the Virgin and Christ as a related pair has more to tell us (figs. 4 and 5).³¹ On its back it has a later inscription, which may have been copied from instructions of the founder of the monastery, directing that on Holy Saturday the two icons of the founder should be placed side by side on the *Epitaphios*. Although the emphasis has been shifted to the Saturday Office, the lesson is nonetheless clear. The use of our icon in Passion

²⁴ C. Bertelli, "The Image of Pity in S. Croce in Gerusalemme," *Essays in the History of Art Presented to R. Wittkower* (New York, 1967), 40 ff.

²⁵ A. Grabar, "Les reliquaires de St. Demetrios," *DOP*, 5 (1950), 1 ff., esp. 6 and 12 ff.

²⁶ H. Wentzel, "Der Brautschatz der Theophanu," *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 44 (1973), no. 24, fig. 16b.

²⁷ Moscow, Tretjakov Gallery, no. 22944 (Slavonic? 14th century): cf. *Iskusstvo Vizantii v Sobranijah SSSR*, Exhibition Catalogue, 3 (Moscow, 1977), 129, no. 975.

²⁸ Leningrad, Public Library Cod. gr. 105, fols. 65v and 167v: H. R. Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar* (Chicago, 1936), pls. 34 and 106; Pallas, *Passion*, 208; for its new dating, A. Cutler and A. Weyl Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3," *REB*, 34 (1976), 281 ff., esp. 304 ff.

²⁹ Cf. e.g., the drawing in Cod. 3 of Magdalen College at Oxford, fol. 104v: T. Velmans, "Le dessin à Byzance," *MonPiot*, 59 (1974), 164 and fig. 25.

³⁰ Nicosia, Collection of the Phaneromeni, panel, 14th century: A. Papageorgiou, *Icons of Cyprus* (Geneva, 1969), 92 and pl. p. 38.

³¹ A. Xyngopoulos, *Βυζαντινὰ εἰκόνες ἐν Μετεώροις*, in *Ἀρχ.Δελτ.*, 10 (1926), 37 ff. (with inscriptions); Pallas, *Passion*, 197 ff.; and K. Weitzmann and others, *Frühe Ikonen* (Vienna-Munich, 1965), xxiii f. and pls. 62 and 63.

ritual needs no further proof. We can thus leave this argument and add some remarks about other aspects of our icon.

On the Meteora diptych the companion figures of the Virgin and Christ are not displayed on the front and back of the same panel but are placed on two adjacent and connected panels (figs. 4 and 5). This variant seems to have been preferred for small icons meant for private use. The cross reliquary of Queen Tamar of Georgia, dating from the early thirteenth century, also made for personal use, introduces us to another variant of a diptych, with three figures alluding to a Crucifixion.³² The private use of the Man of Sorrows is best illustrated by a fourteenth-century fresco in Peć representing St. Demetrios in prison.³³ The Saint is comforted by a small copy of our icon, which is obviously his personal possession. Another aspect of private use is attested in funerals during which our icon was placed on the chest of the dead.³⁴ In general, we must not think in terms of an absolutely rigid distinction between liturgical and private use. The former clearly was inspired by the semi-private monasteries owned by members of the aristocracy; the latter in turn benefited from the liturgical practice it has stimulated. In other words, we must look at liturgical and extra-liturgical use in a relation of mutual exchange, with the former taking the lead.

The Meteora diptych has still more to tell us. The Virgin is no longer the self-contained image of the Mother and Child, but a lamenting figure, the "mother of Passion" (fig. 9), to quote an eleventh-century poem by John Mauropus.³⁵ This is an invention that definitely called for a diptych, with the two figures visually related, eye to eye, so to speak. The pair of figures calls to mind a pair of actors on the stage of Passion rituals. To understand this invention in connection with related images, a short excursus is needed on the history of the icon of the Virgin in its relation to icons of the Passion. The "lamenting Virgin," as I should like to call her, already occurs in a thirteenth-century panel now in Moscow which precedes the Meteora diptych by more than a century (fig. 10).³⁶ The earliest appearance of this Virgin type may have been the "weeping Virgin" mentioned in the eleventh-century poem referred to above,³⁷ and its meaning may have been similar to that of the *Threnos* scene (fig. 11), though the function of the Virgin herself must have been different. The portrait icon invited empathy on the part of the beholder in that it embodied the partner who was to receive the ritual address of the community. In that sense the image was functional.

The creation of the icon of the "lamenting Virgin" may be compared to that of the icon known as the *Eleousa*, whose "original" may have been kept in the eponymous church built by the Emperor John II (1118–43).³⁸ Its most famous example,

³² Ch. Amiranašvili, *Les émaux de Géorgie* (Paris, 1962), fig. p. 55.

³³ Hamann-MacLean, *Grundlegung* (note 10 *supra*), 63 and pl. 6a; I. M. Djordjević, in *Sbornik za likovne umetnosti*, 14 (1978), 83.

³⁴ Pallas, *Passion*, 202. See icons with the representation of the funerals of Ephraim of Syria or the relevant remarks by Symeon of Thessalonika (PG, 155, col. 676).

³⁵ Ed. P. de Lagarde, *Die Gedichte des Johannes Mauropus*, Königliche Gesellschaft Göttingen, *Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 28 (1881), 10 no. 20.

³⁶ Moscow, Tretjakov Gallery, no. 28834: cf. the Exhibition Catalogue *Iskusstvo Vizantii* (note 27 *supra*), 85, no. 952.

³⁷ Note 35 *supra*.

³⁸ Pallas, *Passion*, 167ff. Cf. also V. Lazarev, *Vizantijskaja Živopis* (Moscow, 1971), 275ff.; H. Hallensleben, in *LChrI*, III (Freiburg Br., 1971), 170ff.

undoubtedly a painting produced in the capital, is the "Virgin of Vladimir" (fig. 12).³⁹ The fame of this image rests in the intimate relation of the Mother and Child who embrace cheek to cheek and seem to kiss each other. This poetic image, as we know, has its roots not in the Christmas but in the Passion liturgy, when the Mother remembers the old days; for example, in Symeon Metaphrastes' sermon on the Virgin's lament: "At that time I dipped my lips in your honey-sweet and dewy lips. . . . Many times you have slept on my breast as an infant, and now you have fallen asleep there as dead."⁴⁰ This passage reflects as closely as a text can the visual image. It is not by accident that on the reverse of the panel of the "Virgin of Vladimir" is a representation (fig. 13) alluding to the sacrifice on the cross.⁴¹ The *Threnos* (fig. 11) and the *Eleousa* icon (fig. 12), both showing the Virgin kissing her Son, are creations of related content and similar language, but of different emphasis. Like the Metaphrastes text, the *Threnos* uses *anamnesis* in that it shows the mourning Virgin remembering the sweet days of her Son's childhood, whereas the *Eleousa* uses *prolepsis* to show the young mother anticipating what is to come.

As Pallas pointed out, the protohumanist ethos lies in the Virgin's eventual insight into the necessity of the Passion to achieve salvation.⁴² The soteriological argument was also intended to affect the beholder. It suggested an inner training or conversion to reason; the Virgin was to appear as a prototype of model behavior, of the spiritual catharsis of the religious ego. The liturgical image extends the visual reality by making visible a theological argument. At the same time, it expresses an anagogical exhortation which is supplemented by an ethical statement. Like her companion images, the *Eleousa* is at once both an instrument and an object of mystagogical thinking. The "new interest in pathos and human feelings" which was observed in twelfth-century art in fact seems to have had deeper roots.⁴³ A lay public, increasing in number, seems to have developed a new demand for religious and emotional experience to which art had to respond. It was the semi-monastic, semiprivate liturgy that must have provided the educated Byzantines with the clichés for expressing themselves.

The *Eleousa*, however, was not the first icon of the Virgin to be used in Passion symbolism; nor was that of the "lamenting Virgin." The famous *Hodegetria* icon seems to have taken the lead in a liturgical reinterpretation, when it was combined with a companion image of Passion symbolism (possibly a Crucifixion on the reverse of the panel).⁴⁴ (A replica of this type of Virgin, attributed to the Constantinopolitan painter Manuel Eugenikos and datable *ca.* 1380, is connected with a Deposition.⁴⁵) We must remember that Symeon Metaphrastes, the author of the ritual lament

³⁹ K. Onasch, *Icons* (London, 1963), pls. 1.2 and 102 (the back side, painted or overpainted in the 15th century), with further bibliography and remarks on pp. 341f. and 387; V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Torino, 1967), fig. 326.

⁴⁰ PG, 114, col. 216B-C. Translation by Maguire, "Depiction" (note 5 *supra*), 161 ff.

⁴¹ See note 39 *supra*.

⁴² Pallas, *Passion*, 170 ff.

⁴³ Maguire, "Depiction," 126.

⁴⁴ Pallas, *Passion*, 91 ff. Cf., for the history of the icon and its home, the *Hodegon* monastery, R. Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I.3: *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1953), 212 ff.; and Hallensleben, in LChrI, III, 168 ff.

⁴⁵ G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinaï*, I (Athens, 1956), pl. 234. Cf. H. Belting, "Manouel Eugenikos. Un peintre de Constantinople en Géorgie," *CahArch* (in press).

mentioned above, was active in the *Hodegon* monastery, the home of that particular icon. The reinterpretation of the Virgin's role in Passion liturgy did not affect the appearance of the relic icon itself. But other later copies of the same type made visible this change or extension in semantic and liturgical function. In the Virgin from Kastoria (fig. 2), the companion of a Man of Sorrows, the Virgin's expression is transformed into one of sorrow, while the angels extend their arms to receive from her hands the sacrifice, or host.

This icon thus becomes a comprehensive statement of the mysteries of sacrifice and salvation. It uses artistic, or better, psychological means to express its message. Other images used a symbolic, or rather ideographic, vocabulary to make their point. For example, a twelfth-century miniature in a manuscript of the *Octoechos* in Messina⁴⁶ offers a theological synopsis of the *Hodegetria* and the Cross and Tomb of Christ, arranged on a vertical axis. The case of a famous icon formula, the "Virgin of the Passion," is different; this image combines the psychological expression with factual, plain symbols.⁴⁷ It is exemplified by a wall-painting, dated 1192, with the titular saint of the Arakos monastery, near Lagoudera in Cyprus (fig. 16).⁴⁸ The name *Kecharitomene* may have been borrowed from the titular icon of the eponymous monastery in the capital, founded by Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118).⁴⁹ The painting is as complex as a sermon, but its theological arguments tend to convey an ethos which accepts human fate and transcends it. It is, therefore, well suited to the liturgical prayers, inscribed on its surface, for the living and dead members of the founder's family. Let me single out three features which establish the semantic expression of sacrifice and salvation. First, the gesture of the Virgin's hands alluding to a liturgical paten or spoon (λαβίς), a metaphor which had indeed been introduced in this context (Ps.-Methodius).⁵⁰ Second, the reclining pose of the youthful Emmanuel who is simultaneously asleep and awake, a perfect example of Passion *prolepsis* for it symbolizes Christ in the tomb (*Anapeson*).⁵¹ Third, the composition as a whole, with the two angels carrying the instruments of the Passion (τοῦ Πάθους τὰ σύμβολα) to the group in the center. The same angels are shown in the act of adoring the Cross on the back of a twelfth-century icon from Novgorod the front of which represents the *Mandilion* (figs. 14 and 15).⁵² The group of the Mother and Child and the Cross became interchangeable features, the one emphasizing the sacrificial lamb, the other the sacrificial altar, to phrase it in liturgical terminology. What to select and what to combine from the rich repertory of related images of varying com-

⁴⁶ Messina, University Library MS F. S. Salvatore 51, fol. 9v; G. Musolino, *Calabria bizantina* (Venice, 1967), fig. 82. Cf. also R. Mancini, *Codices graeci monasterii Messinensis S. Salvatoris* (Messina, 1907), 99f.

⁴⁷ Pallas, *Passion*, 173ff.; M. G. Sotiriou, Παναγία τοῦ Πάθους, *Panegyric Volume for the 1400-Year Jubilee of the Building of the Sinai Monastery* (Athens, 1969), 27ff.

⁴⁸ Pallas, *Passion*, 173ff. Cf. also G. Sotiriou, in 'Αρχ. Έφ. (1953–54), 87f. and plate (with full reproduction and transcription of the inscriptions); and Hamann-MacLean, *Grundlegung* (note 10 *supra*), 60ff. and pl. 5b. I am grateful to Prof. Hamann-MacLean for sending me a photograph of the fresco.

⁴⁹ Janin, *Géographie* (note 44 *supra*), 196ff.

⁵⁰ PG, 18, col. 364. Cf. Pallas, *Passion*, 176f.

⁵¹ Pallas, *Passion*, 181ff. and 194f. with reference to the early use of Gen. 49:9 (*Anapeson leon*) in the liturgy; and Hamann-MacLean, *Grundlegung*, 58ff.

⁵² Onasch, *Icons* (note 39 *supra*), 347f. and pls. 10–11; V. Lazarev, *Novgorodian Icon Painting* (Moscow, 1969), pls. 8–9.

plexity and expression were matters of preference. We may conclude from this that the educated Byzantines became sufficiently well trained to enjoy the cross-references between images which reflected those existing between different texts and between different rituals. Thus we have a glimpse of a creative phase of Comnenian icon painting, very little of which has come down to us.

The Novgorod *Mandilion* (fig. 14) is, again, one of many variants of icon painting which may have been used in Passion rituals, and, to judge from its style, it, too, repeats a Byzantine model of the early twelfth century. Since the *Mandilion*, or true likeness of the Savior's face (the "original" of which was preserved in the chapel of the Palace), was taken as factual proof of the reality of Christ's incarnation, its message was related to that of the Mother and Child. But there is more. The adoration of the Cross which appears on the reverse of the Novgorod icon (fig. 15), seems to be addressed specifically to the famous cross—once in the Skeuophylakion of Hagia Sophia and used in the liturgy—which was exactly the size of Christ's body and contained the true relics of the Passion.⁵³ The icon, in fact, reproduces two different cult or relic images, namely, the Holy Face and the holy "Cross of the Symbols of the Passion." It could well have qualified for use on Good Friday. Its success, however, was limited, perhaps because of the bad impression left by the theories of Leo of Chalcedon, who had made dangerous use of the Canon of the Feast of the *Mandilion* which had soon been abolished (*ca.* 1100).⁵⁴

The image which survived the heavy competition among liturgical icons serving the Passion rituals was the Man of Sorrows (fig. 3). Its predominance, from the thirteenth century on, however, must not obscure an earlier phase, when it was just one among many formulas most of which were lost or were transformed either in function or in aspect so as to preclude any insight into their Comnenian history. It is especially the bilateral icons that played a role in a service or procession. Their two faces served to represent two related concepts or two related persons, such as Christ and the Virgin, the protagonists of Passion ritual. After 1204 and the loss of most of the cult images and relics which were the pride of Constantinople, the history of liturgical images changed. The cult objects proper, the materialized symbols of the mysteries of the faith, had not only stimulated liturgical vision but also inspired artistic creation to match the new patterns and thoughts of the liturgy. In the centuries following the first sack of the capital, icon painting was limited to a repertory which was reduced in extent as well as in generative power.

To summarize this brief survey, I should like to make as clear as possible that it was the Passion rituals of Holy Week that offered the context in which the Man of Sorrows had its function. They explain the invention of a portrait bust equivalent to the bust of the Virgin. Our icon did not appear alone in this context; and its companion image, whether as the second wing of a diptych or as the opposite face of a two-sided panel, underwent many changes. But there can be no doubt that the Man of Sorrows entered the repertory of liturgical icons early. Anna Komnene's

⁵³ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis*, I.1.1, Bonn ed. (1829), 15f. Cf. Pallas, *Passion*, 69f. and 74f.

⁵⁴ Pallas, *Passion*, 137f.

icon of "Christ the bridegroom" (*Nymphios*) who "sleeps the sweet sleep" could have been either a Man of Sorrows or a sleeping boy of the *Anapeson* type, the two being interchangeable in their meaning.⁵⁵ In order to prove the early existence of our icon type, we are not dependent on texts alone but can produce visual documents. The Kastoria icon is one of them (fig. 3). The icon with a gold cover, today in Jerusalem, is another (fig. 22). It is one of the few surviving masterpieces of twelfth-century metalwork produced in the capital.⁵⁶ The painting itself is lost, and the outer frame is late. What remains, however, clearly suggests a very precious icon, such as would be fashionable among patrons in the capital. It also testifies to the early phase of the image, when the Crucifixion, alluded to in the *titulus*, and the two lamenting angels in the upper corners received more emphasis than the Burial itself.

The subsequent history of the Man of Sorrows is characterized by the introduction of the crossed-hands burial position (fig. 17) and of the tomb, both of which emphasized the burial service on Holy Saturday. More important, the introduction of the image into the realm of wall painting was also its introduction into the realm of Eucharistic symbolism connected with the Divine Liturgy. This change did not take place at once: in Gradac as late as 1271 the diaconicon fresco of the Man of Sorrows is still connected with that of the lamenting Virgin which occupies the corresponding position in the prothesis apse.⁵⁷ Yet it is obvious that our icon, because of its success in Passion rituals and because of its significance as an image of Christ the sacrificed lamb, could start a second career; this being already well known from the studies of G. Millet and S. Dufrenne does not require our attention.⁵⁸

Instead, I should like to add an epilogue, dedicated to the image on cloth of the *Amnos Aër*. Since the facts seem to be quite clear, I can be very brief. The story, in this case, moves in the opposite direction. The veil with the embroidered image started its career in the Divine Liturgy and ended in Passion rites. Just as texts could be transferred from one ritual to another, so could images in liturgical use.

As far as the cloth which was to carry the image is concerned, its liturgical use is obvious. Again the Reverend R. F. Taft tells us that the veil was certainly used in the Divine Liturgy, especially in the Presanctification of the Gifts, in their Great Entrance, and, finally, in their deposition on the main altar.⁵⁹ The images clearly bear out this use. Woven fabrics being fragile, it is not surprising that there are representations of textiles which are earlier than any of the textiles actually extant. They date from the latter part of the twelfth century, i.e., from the very same period when the *Melismos* first appeared in wall painting.⁶⁰ Both the printed

⁵⁵ I. N. Sola, "De codice Laur. X Plut. V," *BZ*, 20 (1911), 376. Cf. Pallas, *Passion*, 233f.

⁵⁶ *Byzantine Art — An European Art. Catalogue* (Athens, 1964), no. 475.

⁵⁷ Cf. the drawing in Hamann-MacLean, *Grundlegung* (note 10 *supra*), 340.

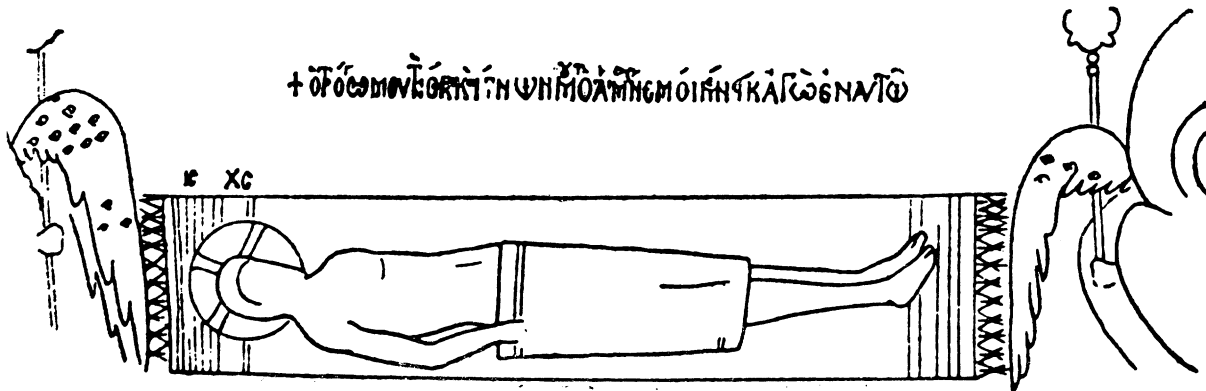
⁵⁸ See *supra*, note 10.

⁵⁹ Taft, *Entrance* (note 9 *supra*), 3ff., 53ff. (Cherubikon hymn), 178ff. (procession of the Holy Gifts as the actual "Great Entrance"), 217ff. (burial symbolism). Cf. also other studies as in note 9.

⁶⁰ The *Melismos*, the sacrificial bread, in the guise of a naked child, on the paten and chalice, as it was introduced in the center of the lower register of the main apse, is first documented at Kurbinovo (1192); it still does not appear at Nerezi (1164), where a *Hetoimasia* occupies its place. Cf. G. Millet, "La vision de Pierre d'Alexandrie," *Mélanges Ch. Diehl* (Paris, 1930), II, 107ff.; G. Babić, "Les discussions christologiques et le décor des églises byzantines au XII^e siècle," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 2 (1968), 368ff.; Hamann-MacLean, *Grundlegung* (note 10 *supra*), 147ff. and 279f.

Melismos and the textiles make visible the sacrificial host, the former in the guise of the Christ Child, the latter in that of the buried Christ. In other words, the veil which had been in use long before, now received an image which was to make visible its burial symbolism, which, too, had existed long before. The coincidence of the introduction of the veil image and that of the *Melismos*, which took place at the same time, still remains unexplained.

It will be sufficient to mention two twelfth-century documents which testify to the existence of the veil image. The first, a Greek enamel now in Leningrad (fig. 19), shows the figure of Christ laid up on the burial linen, while at His head and feet are two angels holding *rhypidia*, which were to become a topical element of the embroidered *Aëres*.⁶¹ The accompanying inscription ΧC πρόκειται καὶ μετέξεται Θεῷ (Christ is set forth and has a share with God) with its Eucharistic overtones has not yet been interpreted. The other witness, a fresco in the Greek church of Samari, Messenia (text figure), from the point of view of the iconography is the counterpart of the enamel.⁶² It also furnishes additional information deserving our attention.



Samari, Messenia. Apse Fresco (ca. 1200), detail

The inscription above the dead Christ quotes John 6:56 ("He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood...") and thus strongly underlines the sacramental significance. And the location in the main apse is precisely that initially given to the *Melismos*. The two scenes, then, could not have been very different in meaning. In the fourteenth-century prothesis apse of the Markov Manastir (1375) a true *Melismos* scene, characterized by the liturgical setting, the officiants, and the *asteriskos* on Christ's body, in fact exchanges the Child with the burial figure.⁶³ In the twelfth century, the *Amnos Aër* is still distinguished from the *Melismos* scene. It is the cloth image of Christ, shown upon the burial linen and accompanied by the lamenting angels, which found its way into the Great Entrance songs and prayers.

⁶¹ G. Schlumberger, in *Mon Piot*, 1 (1894), 99ff.; A. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of the USSR* (Moscow, 1966), 364f. and pls. 186–89. The reading of the inscription (which I owe to Dr. L. Bouras), is still open to discussion. Professor I. Ševčenko, in the discussion which followed my paper, proposed the reading: . . . μελίεται Θεός.

⁶² H. Grigoriadou-Cabagnols, "Le décor peint de l'église de Samari en Messénie," *Cah Arch*, 20 (1970), 177ff., esp. 182, 184, and figs. 4–5.

⁶³ Hamann-MacLean, *Grundlegung*, pl. 18.

Let us now go one step further. We must distinguish not only between indirect evidence and that provided by textiles actually preserved, but also between two different types of *Aër* images which, however, coincide in their meaning. One type is represented by the two twelfth-century works mentioned above (fig. 19 and text figure). We rediscover it in the slightly expanded version of the *Andronikos Aër* (fig. 20), once at Ochrid, which, as the inscription says, had been donated by the Emperor Andronikos II (1282–1328) so that he would be “remembered by the shepherd of the Bulgars in the liturgy.”⁶⁴ The inclusion of the Four Beasts chanting the *Trisagion*, and the Christ figure laid upon the *Aër* on a kind of altar do not make it a recent invention of the Palaeologan court, as Pallas believes.⁶⁵ On the contrary, its principal features were well established by the end of the twelfth century.

The second type has survived in a single example only, a textile now in Belgrade (fig. 18) whose donor inscription identifies it as a commission of the Serbian king Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321) and, as such, makes it contemporary with the *Andronikos Aër*.⁶⁶ It differs from the latter mainly in its frontal view of Christ which relates it to the Burial Shroud of Turin.⁶⁷ In fact, the real and revealing difference, other than the lamenting angels, is the liturgical veil covering the body of Christ which transforms the mere reproduction of the historical relic into a liturgical image of the sacrificed lamb. It may be that this cloth image left its traces on the later variants of the Man of Sorrows, but it is not possible to accept Pallas’ view that the former was the model for the latter.⁶⁸ What matters here is the observation that the *Amnos Aër*, which was considered the symbol of the Burial Shroud, became in this case an actual reproduction of what it was to represent, i.e., the relic itself. This must have happened when the relic was still in the capital, and it may be no accident that, again, it is at the end of the twelfth century that we first hear of the regular display of the Holy Shroud in the church of Blachernae.⁶⁹ It is at this same moment that the plain veil adopted its own image and the *Melismos* scene found its way into wall painting.

I may now draw a few conclusions to round off this brief survey of our embroidered image. There were two types of *Aër* images, different in layout but identical in meaning. Both must have been created in the late twelfth century. Their liturgical function cannot be doubted; it culminated in the Great Entrance, when the *Aër* was used to cover the Gifts. The burial symbolism of the Great Entrance was by then an old element in its mystagogical explanation. But there is one final proof of this liturgical use, which so far has remained unnoticed. Most, if not all, extant

⁶⁴ Millet, *Broderies* (note 9 *supra*), 89 and pl. CLXXVIII; Johnstone, *Tradition* (note 9 *supra*), fig. 93. The inscription (Μέμνησο ποιμήν Βουλγάρων ἐν θυσίαις ἀνακτος Ἀνδρονίκου Παλαιολόγου), which mentions the Emperor Andronikos II (1282–1328) as the donor of the textile, also refers to the title of the archbishop of Ochrid (Shepherd of the Bulgars) and thus may offer a clue to the dating of the *Epitaphios*—around 1315. As will be shown in a forthcoming study by Professor I. Ševčenko, at that time there existed a very close relation between the Emperor and the archbishop of Ochrid: I. Ševčenko, “Two Poems by Theodoros Metochites,” *Greek Orthodox Review* (1980) (in press).

⁶⁵ Pallas, *Passion*, 251 ff.

⁶⁶ Belgrade, Museum of Ecclesiastical Art. Provenance: Fruška Gora. Cf. Millet, *Broderies*, 87 and pl. CLXXVI.1; Johnstone, *Tradition*, fig. 94; and Pallas, *Passion*, 251 ff.

⁶⁷ See note 23 *supra*.

⁶⁸ Pallas, *Passion*, 251 ff.

⁶⁹ See note 23 *supra*.

Aëres have donor inscriptions which are in fact liturgical prayers. Thus they establish explicitly the connection with the liturgical uses (again, first developed in monastic circles) of interrupting the Cherubikon hymn, the main chant accompanying the Great Entrance procession, with liturgical commemorations for the dead and the living.⁷⁰

So far I have traced the origin and early history of the embroidered *Amnos Aëres*. During a second phase, reached in the fourteenth century, the embroidered images were also used in the burial cortège on Holy Saturday. The transfer from the first to the second use took place when liturgical development was ready for it. The entrance procession of Holy Saturday was gradually transformed into a burial procession. But what was to enter on that occasion? In the Great Entrance, it was the Holy Gifts. On Holy Saturday, it was the Gospel Book, then representing Christ. When the Book was eventually covered with the *Aër*, the *mise-en-scène* equaled that of the Great Entrance and concluded the development leading up to the *Epitaphios Threnos*. The *Aër* now in Venice (fig. 21) is the clearest extant example bearing out this second use.⁷¹ Its Christ figure awkwardly holds a Gospel Book, and this makes sense only if we know that the veil was actually to cover the Book. Once again, a change in function resulted in a change of the image itself.

The development sketched above reflects what happened in the liturgy and confirms the development of an increasingly complex pattern of cross-references which may intentionally have linked one ritual to another and thus transformed the overall experience of liturgical realism. I should like to quote the Reverend Taft, who has established four stages in the history of burial symbolism.⁷² In the first stage this symbolism was assigned, through the commentaries, to the Great Entrance. In a second stage it entered, by way of songs and texts, the ritual of Holy Week. In a third stage the Holy Week ritual introduced a burial cortège reflecting the model of the Great Entrance. And in a fourth stage, as a retroinfluence from the Passion ritual, the texts proper of the latter finally entered the *ordo* of the Great Entrance. Liturgy, in other words, had a history, and art historians should keep that fact in mind.

I shall avoid another lengthy summary, but I should like to add a few thoughts which may stimulate discussion. We need no semiology to tell us about the impact of the message of a work of art on the language used to transmit the message. First, the communicative structure of a work of art, or the content expressed via form, requires a functional approach for decoding its message. Second, the creation of iconic formulas invites a historical approach which aims at establishing differences not only of styles and modes, but also of historical conditions in the use and creation of art which differ from one period to another and coincide with a change of attitude on the part of the beholder. If we learn to use images as sources relevant to the social and cultural trends of a given age, we may be able to answer the questions of

⁷⁰ Millet, *Broderies*, 87 ff., with many examples for the respective inscriptions; and Taft, *Entrance* (note 9 *supra*), 227 ff., for the liturgical custom of interrupting the hymn with prayers for the living and the dead.

⁷¹ Millet, *Broderies*, 89 ff., and pl. CLXXX; Johnstone, *Tradition*, fig. 98; and *Tesoro di San Marco*, II, ed. H. R. Hahnloser (Florence, 1969), no. 116 and pl. LXXXIV.

⁷² Cf. notes 9 and 59 *supra*.

why art had a history and of how history affected art. In our case, the twelfth century emerges as an age with many and surprising facets. I have traced twelfth-century art to twelfth-century liturgy; yet, this is but a first step. Again, liturgy was not an end in itself but was made by and for the people whose changing demands also changed its history. The small semiprivate, semimonastic circles which contributed so much to the creation of new liturgical and artistic trends need further clarification before we can understand their mentality and appreciate their role in what Professor Každan now calls the pre-Renaissance of the twelfth century.⁷³ One final point. I should like to end by asking in what way liturgy and, through liturgy, religious experience not only offered patterns for the understanding of reality—to be sure, the constructed reality of accepted belief—but also diverted people from the perception of time and space which liturgy did not cease to counter-act.

⁷³ I am grateful to Professor A. Každan for letting me read his article, "Der Mensch in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte," *JÖB*, 28 (1979), 1 ff.



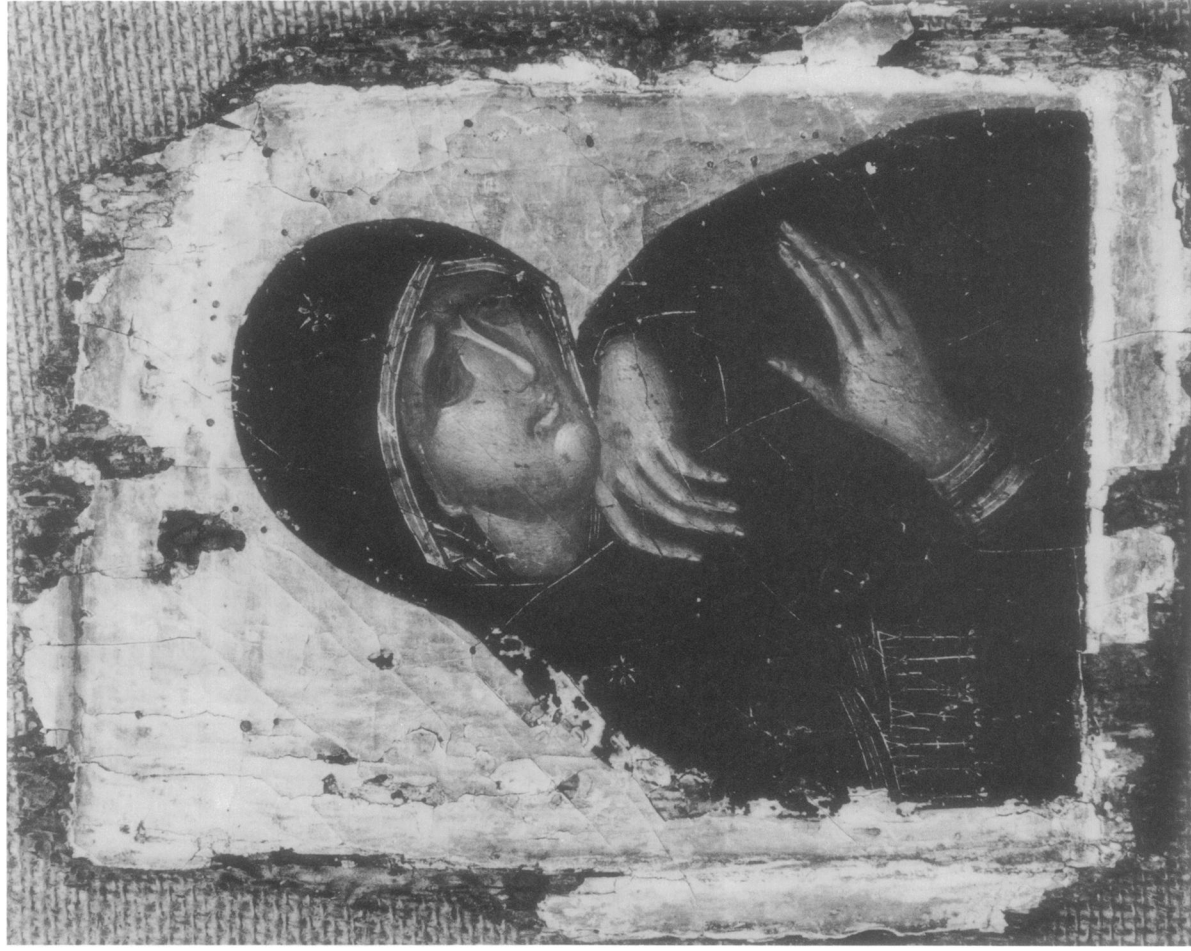
1. Nerezi, St. Panteleimon. The *Threnos* (1164)



2. Kastoria. Two-sided Icon, The Virgin (12th cent.)



3. Kastoria. Two-sided Icon, Christ (12th cent.)



4. Left Half



5. Right Half

Meteora, Monastery of the Transfiguration. Diptych



6. Halberstadt, Domschatz.
Reliquary of St. Demetrius, detail



7. Fol. 65v



8. Fol. 167v



9. Meteora, Monastery of the Transfiguration.
Diptych, Left Half



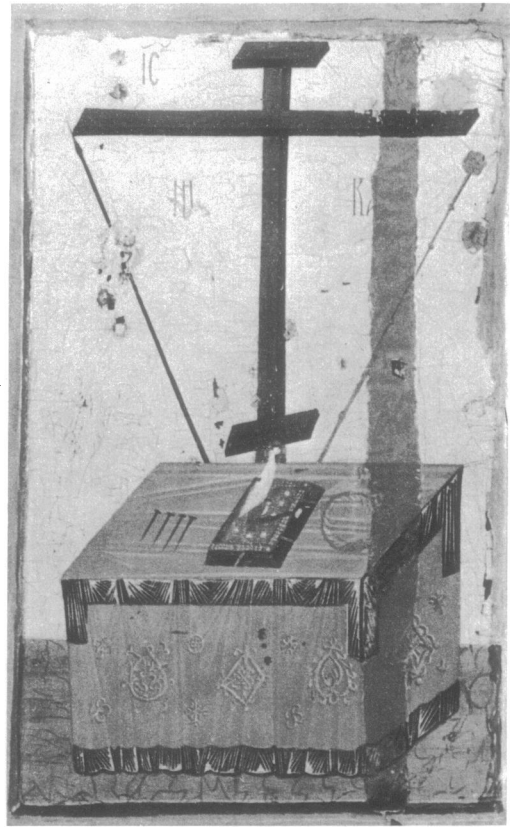
10. Moscow, Tretjakov Gallery.
Diptych, Left Wing



11. Nerezi, St. Panteleimon. The *Threnos* (1164), detail



12. Obverse (12th cent.)



13. Reverse (15th cent.)

Moscow, Tretjakov Gallery. The Virgin of Vladimir



14. Obverse

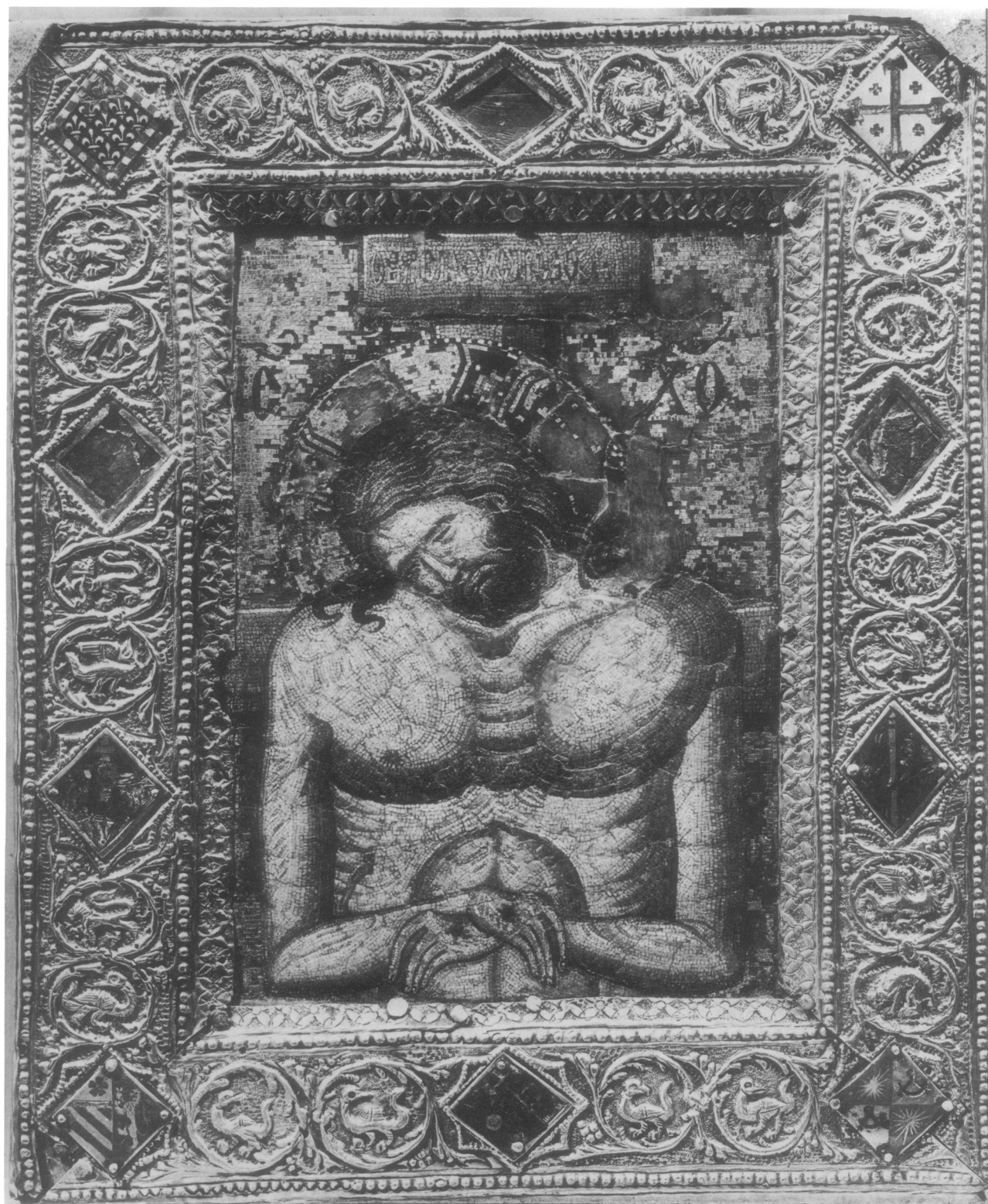


15. Reverse

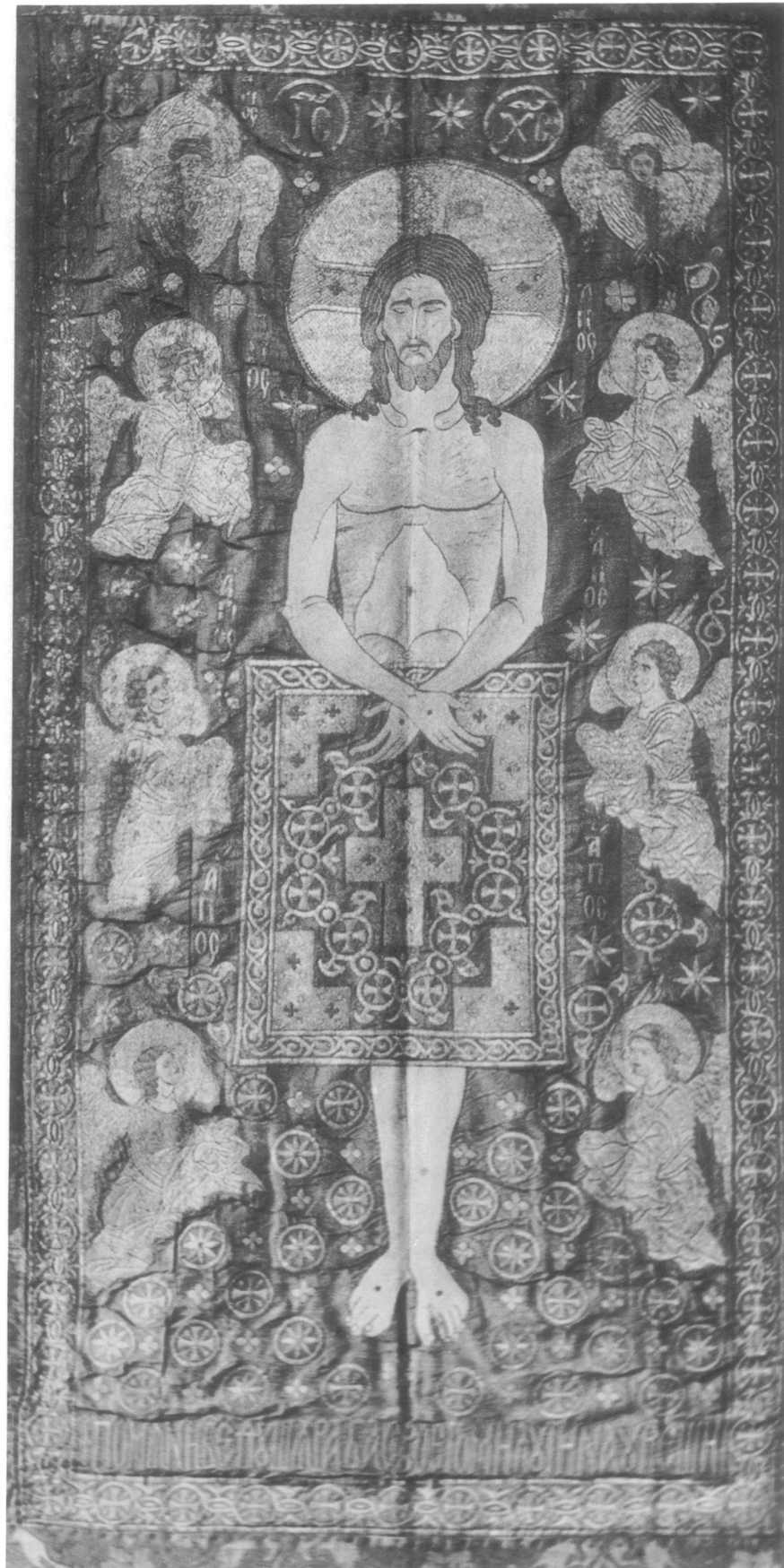
Moscow, Tretjakov Gallery. *Mandilion* from Novgorod (12th cent.)



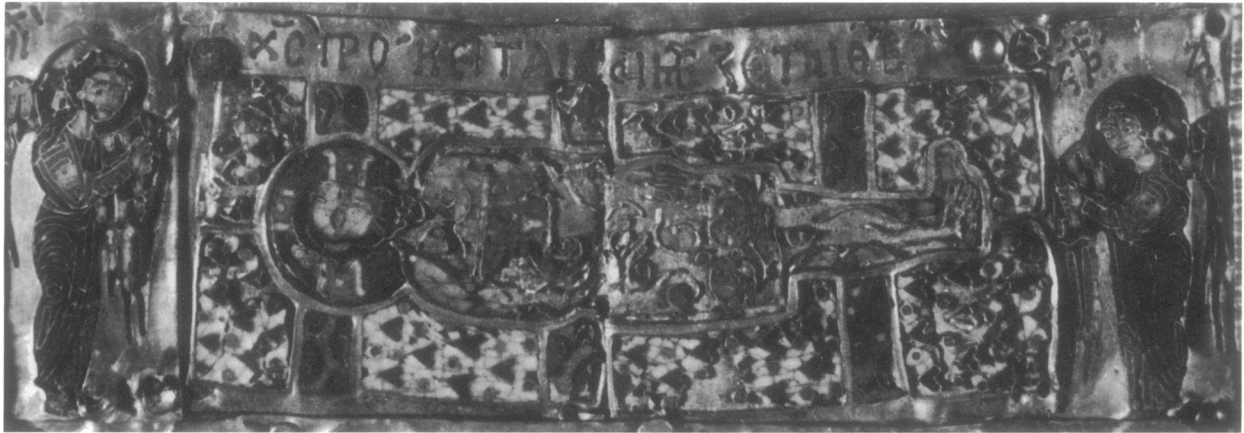
16. Cyprus, Lagoudera, Arakos Monastery. Virgin of the Passion (1192)



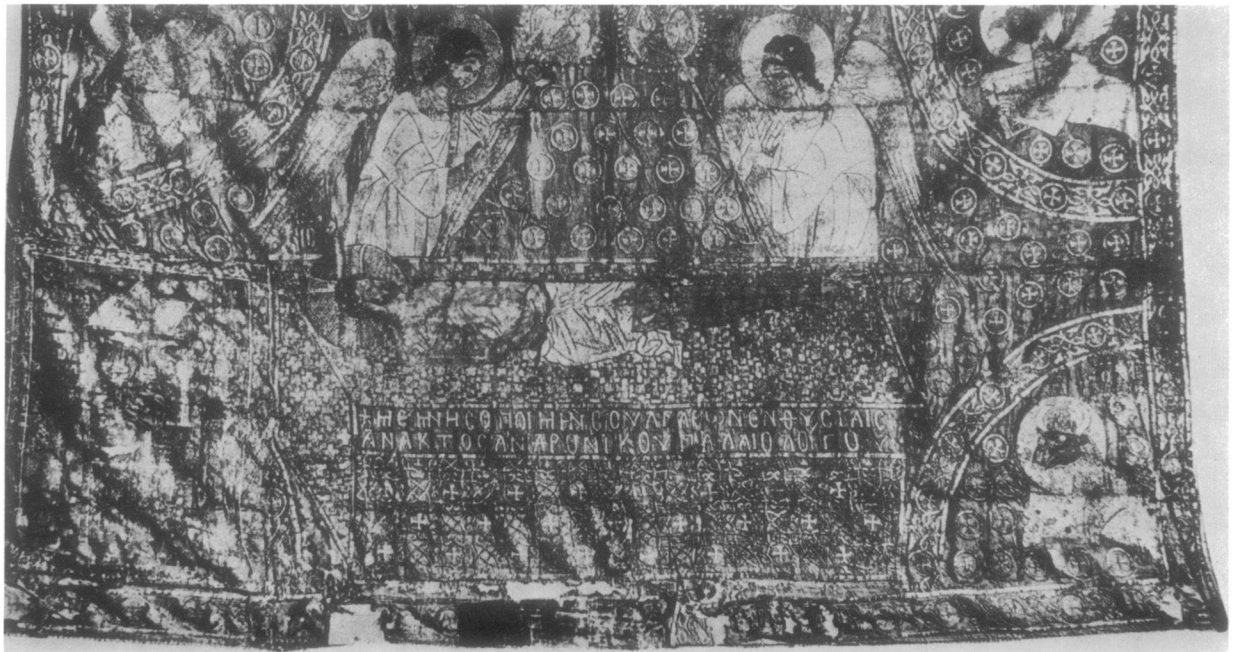
17. Rome, S. Croce in Gerusalemme. Mosaic Icon (ca. 1300)



18. Belgrade, Museum for Ecclesiastical Art. *Epitaphios* from Fruška Gora



19. Leningrad, Hermitage. Byzantine Enamel (12th cent.), detail



20. Ochrid, St. Sophia (formerly). *Epitaphios* (ca. 1300) (now lost)



21. Venice, San Marco. *Epitaphios* (14th cent.)



22. Jerusalem, Holy Sepulchre. Metal Icon (12th cent.), detail